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ABSTRACT

This handbook presents three chapters that explore reforms in teacher empowerment, school choice, and administrator-education programs. In chapter 1, "Leading Empowerment," Zarif Bacilious and C. John Tarter discuss the role of administrator education in empowering teachers. They argue that the educational-administration profession should have a sympathetic, rather than an indifferent or opposing stance, toward teacher empowerment. Chapter 2, "Challenging the Assumption that Choice Is All That Freedom Means: A French Case Study," by Frances C. Fowler, applies the theoretical concept of freedom developed by John Rawls (1971) to a case study of a French school-choice program in effect since 1959. In chapter 3, "Pedagogical, Sociological, and Developmental Concerns of Future Administrators: Implications for Instructional Design from Student Journals," Connie C. Fulmer focuses on the process of journal writing: (1) as learning tool for students in educational administration programs; and (2) as a research technique for assessing the pedagogical, sociological, and developmental impact of courses and programs on students. (LMI)

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REFORMS IN EMPOWERMENT, CHOICE, AND ADULT LEARNING

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EA 025 586

REFORMS IN EMPOWERMENT, CHOICE, AND ADULT LEARNING

UCEA MONOGRAPH SERIES

**Frederick C. Wendel
Series Editor**

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IN MEMORIAM

This volume year of the *UCEA Monograph Series* is dedicated to the memory of John Prasch. John was a longtime friend of UCEA, a UCEA partnership superintendent, professor at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, and a reviewer for these publications.

FOREWORD

Members of the Editorial Board have selected papers for inclusion in this UCEA Monograph Series on the general theme of "Reforms in Empowerment, Choice, and Adult Learning." They were originally presented at the 1991 Convention of the University Council for Educational Administration in Baltimore. Larry L. Dlugosh, Ronald G. Joekel, Barbara Y. LaCost, and Ruth E. Randall, all faculty members of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, reviewed the manuscripts and selected the papers for this issue. Their time, effort, analysis of the manuscripts, and thoughtful contributions are deeply appreciated.

Frederick C. Wendel, Editor
Lincoln, Nebraska
February, 1993

CHAPTER 1

Leading Empowerment

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Empowerment is a general restructuring that may make as significant an impact on schools as the adoption of scientific management did in the 1920s. Where are professors of educational administration in responding to empowerment issues? Professors of educational administration should accept empowerment and deal with it in the context of the discipline's specialities. Failure to accept this movement will place the professoriate in a position where it may only react to changes in the field, as was the case with scientific management (Callahan, 1962), instead of serving as a source for ideas that inform schools and shape their development.

Little research exists about pedagogical approaches to preparing administrators to empower teachers. Much of the administrative research reported in ERIC is on such issues as teacher administrator relationships (1624 entries), instructional leadership (803 entries), and school administrators in general (2165 entries), but minimal research to date speaks to the topic of preparing administrators for the new set of challenges.

Cuban (1984) has noted that the enduring theme of administrative practice is more the continuity of bureaucracy than the interruption of professional decision making at the teacher level. Teachers have not had much influence over choosing texts, tests, or questions of deployment of students and length of school day. Yet, as he points out, the problem of empowerment or teacher autonomy "is fundamental to any analysis of instruction since what policymakers and school administrators assume teachers can and cannot do is often built into decisions touching classrooms" (1984, pp. 252-253).

The question of the role of school administrator occupying an arbitrary point on a continuum from organizational manager to instructional leader has been a continuing concern. However, we believed that we were current or, perhaps, ahead of the field with respect to issues of empowerment for teachers. We were proven wrong by a serendipitous finding from some field research that had been undertaken to assess sentiments for empowerment among student teachers.

We wondered if there were a consensus about empowerment among the major players in teaching, that is, among the pre-student teachers, the student teachers, the cooperating teachers, and finally, the supervisors and university faculty who oversee their training. We set out to explore this question by surveying virtually all of the student-teacher population of two large urban universities, one private and the other public. We expected to find a general homogeneity in the responses from 70 pre-student teachers, mostly freshmen and sophomores who were taking education courses, 37 student teachers, 24 cooperating teachers and 17 university supervisors and faculty members. All were asked to respond to Likert-items on a 35-question survey instrument that tapped opinion on empowerment.

Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with statements advocating greater teacher responsibility for such school events as curriculum setting, determining student outcomes and student behavior, and organizing teacher inservice training. Some items advocated a more generic and appropriate curriculum for students going into teaching.

In general, cooperating teachers differed with pre-student teachers, student teachers, and university faculty in that they advocated much greater latitude on the part of teachers. On the general question of empowerment, determined by analyzing composites of all 35 of the items, cooperating teachers were more liberal ($F = 3.64$, $p < .05$) than the rest of the respondents.

In the item analysis, the most extreme differences appeared in response to the following survey items: (1) Teachers should be empowered to make decisions concerning the selection of textbooks. (2) Teachers should be empowered to decide on class/grade teaching assignment. Cooperating teachers, those teachers who worked in the schools and actually supervised the student teachers on a day-to-day basis, agreed more with these items than did the student teachers they supervised, their university colleagues, or the general education students.

Other differences emerged as well. For example, cooperating teachers were more in favor of sharing all the power with the building administrator than other respondents. Furthermore, responses to several items indicated that cooperating teachers felt that teacher preparation programs did not function well and that they presented too much content at the expense of learning the process of teaching.

The results of this study verified some observations made in the university over the past several years as well as anecdotal comments of the cooperating teachers. Perhaps the time has come to reconsider the substance of teacher preparation, especially in regard to empowerment. Berliner (1988) has suggested that preparations programs provide novice teachers with classification skills in areas that veteran teachers believe to be important to the understanding of classroom experiences. In a larger sense,

Argyris and Schön (1974) have argued for a theory shift from the espoused theory of a practice, in this case the view of teaching from the university, to theory-in-use, the theory practiced by experienced teachers. Students should have a functional intellectual model that will equip them to become increasingly effective as empowered professionals. To carry out that aim, professors must also be conscious of the differences in socialization that seem to exist between the academy and the school work force. Bridging that gap will involve many changes, some not so subtle, in the current paradigm that describes teacher preparation. University programs engaged in student preparation should become both more analytical in what they do and more open to exchanges from the field.

The preparation of administrators who work with cooperating teachers and, of course, who will work with the student teachers as they move through the profession is a salient and immediate concern. Has the field moved away from professors? Are professors patiently waiting, as were the professors in the 1920s, for a direction to emerge? Are we waiting for empowerment to resolve itself?

Administrative responses to empowerment seem to fall into three categories. Administrators should wait and see what changes come about and, then, redefine the role of administration to fit the changes. Administrators would carry out those activities left over after teacher committees had done their work; administration would be a residual role, as it were. A second position is to ignore empowerment and carry out the job as usual. The third position is actively working against empowerment of teachers.

These responses are short-sighted. If a school culture that supports empowerment is already in place, and our data suggest it is, administrators in the field will be socialized in the context of the existing school culture of empowerment (Lieberman, 1988). This is the time for administration professors to guide practice to encompass empowerment as a creative force within schools (Mintzberg, 1989). Administrators are more than likely best placed to coordinate, mediate, and gather resources for the tasks of schooling (Parsons, 1958). Programs in administration should use available theory to guide the administrators in practice. For example, such metaphors as tight/loose coupling or professional bureaucracy can illustrate how administrative practice adapts to the potential of teacher empowerment (Miskel, McDonald, & Bloom, 1983).

A fruitful course guiding the preparation of administrators in the context of empowerment lies in applications from the organizational literature. In a list that is meant to be representative, certainly not exhaustive, the following general assertions are useful in writing curriculum objectives for administrative courses.

1. *The direct effect of administration is on teacher culture, not on learning outcomes.* Analyses by Bossert, Dywer, Rowan, and Lee(1982) and Heck, Larson, and Marcoulides (1991) support the notions that teacher culture produces outcomes and that the appropriate administrators' role is to foster the culture.

2. *Altering the structure of the school to increase autonomy enhances effectiveness.* Mintzberg (1983) suggests that schools are professional bureaucracies in which teachers make decisions to coordinate the central work of the school. Miskel et al. (1983) examined this premise and found that the more the school conformed to professional bureaucratic form, the more effective the school, the more satisfied the teacher, and the more positive the attitude of children toward school.

3. *Teachers have to learn the ropes of administration.* Hersey and Blanchard (1977) suggest that any group facing a new task is immature, that is, unable and unwilling to carry out the task. Many of the elements of empowerment place teachers in positions of organizational decision making where they have no experience, and, thus, may be unwilling and unable to exercise their new power. They are, in Hersey and Blanchard's sense, new to the game. Professors routinely teach administrators the ins and outs of decision making, but they do not teach administrators how to bring teachers into the decision-making process.

These examples, though not especially provocative, often elicit hostile reaction from administrators. "Won't the administrator lose authority and control over the school situation?" As we noted above, that response is short-sighted. School administrators probably do not have too much control over instruction (Martin & Willower, 1981; Bossert et al., 1982). Separating the organizational locus of control of the administrator from the professional locus of control of the teacher may well increase the authority of the administrator by emphasizing the role of coordinator and central communicator. Administrators then might emerge as much more critical figures in the education process. The profession must meet questions of empowerment with a sympathetic stance rather than remaining indifferent or opposing it. Mintzberg (1979) observed that fashion, in a large sense, often dictates the responses of organizations. Surely, if the fashion of the '20s and '30s that has managed to hang on for so long is scientific management, the current fashion and good bet for longevity is empowerment. This is a bandwagon professors of educational administration should ride.

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CHAPTER 2

Challenging the Assumption that Choice is All that Freedom Means: A French Case Study

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Introduction

In the 1990s, school choice is a widely advocated reform of American education. Scholars of various political persuasion argue for it (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Coons & Sugarman, 1978; Friedman, 1962; Jencks, 1972). President Reagan placed it on his policy agenda in the early 1980s, and in 1991 President Bush included it in his "America 2000" education strategy (Cibulka, 1990; US Department of Education, 1991). For a time, choice programs seemed to be restricted to public schools. Recently, however, high ranking policy leaders argue for choice programs which would include private schools. For example, Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander supports subsidizing religious schools through a voucher program (Allis, 1991).

The language in which these proposals are typically couched reflects an economic metaphor of society in which schools are enterprises, education is a product, and families are consumers. The authors of a recent popular article describe school choice policies as setting up educational "markets" (Shapiro, 1991). Friedman (1962) compares selecting a school to selecting a restaurant. Glenn (1989) writes of "individual families as consumers of educational services" (p. 4). And Finn (1990) goes further. Describing himself as "a long-time consumer . . . of private education" (p. 3), he argues that a society which does not provide school choice is not truly democratic. Finn thus directly links school choice to the democratic value of freedom.

But is the power to choose a school for one's child the only thing that educational freedom means in a democratic society? In political philosophy, freedom is a multi-faceted value which includes the freedom of conscience, the freedom of expression, the freedom to participate in the political system, the freedom to join organizations, and the freedom to select

one's own life style. The freedom to choose a school for one's child might be a component of one or more of these freedoms. Yet, the school system is such a complex social institution that the implementation of a choice policy would surely affect other freedoms.

The purpose of this paper is to challenge the prevalent assumption that freedom to choose a school is all that educational freedom means. In doing so, I shall apply the theoretical concept of freedom which the political philosopher John Rawls develops in *A Theory of Justice* (1971) to a case study of a school choice program in effect since 1959. That school choice program is one which France adopted in late 1959 with the passage of the Debré Act, modified in 1971 and 1977 with the Pompidou and Guermeur Acts, and reformed in 1985 with the Chevènement Act.

The choice of France for this case study was not a random one. The French example is relevant to Americans for several reasons, including the fact that France is a large Western democracy with a heterogeneous population and provides for separation of church and state. More important is the fact that the ideological roots of public education in the two nations are closely intertwined. Both countries established public education systems in part because of a set of beliefs which developed out of the Enlightenment and found expression in a revolution. The leaders of the Enlightenment, the revolutions, and the nascent public school systems in both countries knew each other well and influenced each other.

In 1779 (three years into the American Revolution), Thomas Jefferson developed a bill to establish a free public education system in Virginia (Benson, 1971). In 1792 (three years into the French Revolution), Condorcet published his *Rapport sur l'instruction publique* [Report on public education], calling for the establishment of a free public education system in France (Cornec & Bouchareissas, 1982). Condorcet and Jefferson were close friends who admired each other's ideas (Benson, 1971). Moreover, the influence of other French thinkers on Jefferson's educational philosophy—and his on theirs—is well documented (Honeywell, 1931; Kaplan, 1967). Not surprisingly, in the nineteenth century both France and the United States adopted the "common school ideal" (Glenn, 1989). At about the same time, both countries also adopted the policy of providing tax money only for public schools. Private schools could exist but had to support themselves financially.

By and large, the United States still accepts the policy of "public money for public schools." The French, however, changed that policy in the 1950s, sparking intense controversy. That controversy was expressed in ideological terms which sounds familiar to American ears. Thirty-two years later, the French still subsidize private schools, including private religious

schools. Their experience provides Americans with a rare opportunity to examine the freedom issues raised by a school choice program. Glenn (1989) writes:

The French experience is worth understanding in its own right, but it serves also as essential background to the policy debates over the common school and educational freedom that break out periodically in many nations. (p. 9)

Theoretical Framework

In 1971, Harvard philosopher John Rawls published *A Theory of Justice*, a treatise which has been widely recognized as one of the major contributions to political philosophy of this century (Dahl, 1984). In his book, Rawls develops a concept of the just society which, though based on the social contract theories of Locke, Rousseau, and Kant, "carries them to a higher level of abstraction" (Rawls, 1971, p. 11). In Chapter IV, "Equal Liberty," he elaborates a theory of freedom. This theory provides a framework for a discussion of educational freedom in France and the United States since the ideas of the founders of public education in both countries were influenced by Locke and Rousseau. According to Rawls,

liberty can always be explained by a reference to three items: the agents who are free, the restrictions or limitations which they are free from, and what it is that they are free to do or not to do. (p. 202)

Both individuals and associations can be free or restricted. Rawls identifies several basic freedoms: freedom of thought and conscience, the civil liberties, freedom of the person, and political freedom. In a later chapter on political economy, Rawls also argues that, given just social institutions, market systems are consistent with freedom since they provide a way for citizens to make economic choices. According to Rawls, these freedoms do not exist in isolation; rather, they constitute a "system" of freedoms. If any freedom is unrestricted, it conflicts with other freedoms. Therefore, the maintenance of a system of liberties involves balancing each freedom against all the others.

Rawls's theory suggests the following research questions for this study: (a) Under the French private school aid policy, 1959-1985, which agents gained/lost freedom? (b) Under the French private school aid policy, which of these freedoms were gained/lost—and by whom: freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, choice of school, and political freedom (freedoms of

speech, assembly, association, participation in political processes)? (c) In what ways was the total system of liberty which the policy set up balanced or unbalanced?

Methodology

The study is based on the reanalysis of data from an earlier study. The earlier study was a longitudinal policy analysis of French private school aid policy, 1959-1985, using an analytical framework developed by Coplin and O'Leary (1981) and a theoretical framework derived from Dahl's (1982) *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy*. The study narrows the subject to focus on those aspects of the French policy issue which raise the issue of freedom as Rawls (1971) defines it.

The major research methodology for both studies was documentary analysis, using French primary source materials. Documents were selected according to the criteria for historical inquiry. They had to be materials produced by French nationals between 1959 and 1985 and had to have been written close to the time of the events. From this population of documents, a manageable sample was selected, using two criteria. The sample had to represent different classes of data and a range of political opinion. One major source selected was *Journal Officiel*, published by the French Parliament. From it five parliamentary debates and all the private school legislation passed between 1959 and 1985 were selected. Other sources included two Paris newspapers of different political orientations and several statistical, economic, and demographic reports. Finally, 14 scholarly books and 57 scholarly articles were selected for analysis.

Elite interviewing supplemented the major methodology. In May and June 1989, the researcher interviewed 16 French policy actors in Paris, using a semi-structured interview guide in French. The interviewees represented 13 organizations involved in policy development. They included spokesmen for both private and public school groups. All were high-level, national officials in their respective organizations. The researcher took notes during each interview and expanded them within 24 hours. The expanded interview notes comprised a data set.

In the first stage of analysis of the original study, the researcher reduced all of the data except the interview notes by summarizing them in French and English. For this reanalysis of the data, she developed a coding system based on the Rawls's conception of freedom. The reduced data were coded by hand. Then the data relevant to freedom were entered into 18 separate computer files, one file for each code. These entries were separated chronologically into three periods: 1959-1971; 1972-1981; and 1982-

1985. These years correspond to three political eras in France: the Gaullist era, the neo-conservative era, and the Mitterand era. Using print-outs from the 18 files, the researcher displayed the data thematically according to code and chronologically according to period.

Findings

The discussion of the findings of this study will be divided into three sections. The first briefly describes the private school aid policy which France adopted in 1959. The second will describe the conflict between the freedom of private groups to establish schools, the freedom of parents to choose their child's school, and children's freedom of conscience—the conflict which shaped the original 1959 policy. The third will describe two conflicts which developed later in the period under study: (a) the conflict between the freedom of private groups to establish schools and the right of citizens freely to participate in government decisions and (b) the conflict between the freedom of private school administrators to operate their schools and the freedom of private school teachers to believe, think, and live as they choose.

The French Private School Aid Policy

In modern times, French public schools have enrolled approximately 85% of the school age population. The remaining pupils attend private schools. These are largely Roman Catholic, but some other religious groups run private schools as do some large companies. There are also some nonsectarian private schools which cater to special needs. After World War II Catholic education faced a serious financial crisis, compelling its leaders to pressure the government for aid. In 1951, a small voucher program was implemented. This resembled the Minnesota tuition tax credit program in that the sum per child was minimal and both public and private school students received aid. Because this program proved to be inadequate, Catholic education leaders continued to campaign for financial assistance. The result was the Debré Act of 1959 (Cornec & Bouchareissas, 1982).

The Debré Act offered private schools four options:

- (1) They could refuse government aid and remain unregulated.
- (2) They could let the government pay teachers' salaries under a subcontracting system and accept moderate regulation.
- (3) They could let the government pay both teachers' salaries and school operating expenses and accept more extensive regulation.
- (4) They could apply to become part of the public school system.

Government regulation focused on teacher credentials, curriculum, the number

of hours of instruction offered weekly, and financial audits. Moreover, subsidized private schools had to accept children of all religions and backgrounds. They had the right to maintain a "distinctive character" but had to respect their pupils' freedom of conscience (*Journal Officiel: Lois et Decrets [JOD]*, 1960). The large majority of private schools chose to accept the subsidies (Sainclair, 1965).

The Conflicting Freedoms which Shaped the Policy

While a financial crisis caused the leaders of French private schools to seek government subsidies, policy proposals had to be justified. Those who led the movement for government aid justified their cause very skillfully. They developed a complex argument to the effect that freedom of thought in a democratic society depends upon public support for private schools. An embryonic form of this argument is evident in the debates which surrounded the passage of the Debré Act in 1950: it obviously influenced the wording of the law. Even after the passage of the law, private school leaders continued to elaborate and publicize their argument. It did not achieve its final form until the mid-1980s, when the French Left—which had long opposed subsidies—accepted it in the Savary Bill and the equivalent of the U.S. Supreme Court upheld it in a 1985 decision. By that time, public opinion had shifted from opposing aid for private schools to supporting it strongly (Savary, 1985). Obviously, the argument was persuasive.

Essentially, private school leaders and their conservative political supporters linked private education to basic freedoms of thought, conscience, and expression. As they argued, danger lurked for a government to have a monopoly over education and for schools to play a major role in shaping the beliefs of their students. Thus, genuine democracy depends upon "educational freedom"—the freedom of private citizens or groups to establish schools and the freedom of parents to select those schools for their children. As some private school leaders expressed their argument in 1977:

Basically, educational freedom is the freedom of a French citizen to open a school, either on his own or with the support of a group; it also includes his or her freedom to direct and lead this school by bringing together a team of willing educators to collaborate with the parents in implementing an educational project; finally, it involves the freedom of parents to entrust the education of their offspring to this school. (Comité National de L'Enseignement Catholique, 1977, p. 31)

The advocates of this argument recognized that the exercise of educational freedom by parents depended upon the existence of clearly identifiable choices. Thus each

private school had to be able to develop and maintain a distinctive identity; also, parents had to be able to ascertain the nature of that identity. This goal of identity could be achieved by giving private school principals the power to recruit, evaluate, and dismiss their teachers. "Identity" could also be achieved by requiring each private school to develop a written document called an "educational project" and to make this document available both to parents and to prospective teachers.

Of course, unsubsidized schools could easily meet all the standards. But parents could not choose an unsubsidized private education for their children unless they had the financial means to do so. Private school leaders argued that the government's refusal to subsidize private schools was a violation of the democratic principles of freedom of conscience and equality. Wealthy families were free to choose an education which was consistent with their values, but poorer ones were not. As one private school leader said: "A freedom which is based upon one's financial condition is not a true freedom; it's a snare."

Private school supporters insisted that the government subsidize private schools so that parents could exercise their freedom to choose an education for their children which was consistent with their beliefs. In doing so, they anticipated Rawls's (1971) statement:

Historically one of the main defects of constitutional government has been the failure to insure the fair value of political liberty. . . . Public resources had not been devoted to maintaining the institutions required for the fair value of political liberty. (p. 226)

Interestingly, one by-product of the campaign to obtain public funds for private schools was a more general movement of French society toward the use of public resources to maintain democratic institutions. One Catholic leader elaborated on this theme in an interview:

We believe in freedom; and one of the basic freedoms is educational freedom. Children don't belong to anyone; but their parents and the state have duties toward children. Some of those duties are educational. Freedom can't just be theoretical. In an advanced democracy the basic freedoms are supported financially. Thus in France the mass media, the labor unions, and private education are subsidized. . . . Quite simply, our idea that freedom cannot remain theoretical has made its way.

In conclusion, much of the reason for the success of the private education lobby was its well conceptualized and clearly articulated understanding of what freedom means in a democratic nation.

Conflicts that Arose

French supporters of public education and the common school ideal did not sit back quietly while these arguments were advanced. On the contrary, in the 1950s they fought hard to prevent the subsidization of private education; and over the years they have remained vigilant. Although they based their attack primarily upon their belief in the importance of the common school and upon their concern about social equality, they also responded with a freedom issue of their own. They argued that the advocates of government aid for private religious schools were excessively concerned about the freedom of private groups, private school administrators, and parents—and extremely unconcerned about the freedom of children for whom schools are established. They believed that the importance of children's freedom of conscience and thought far outweighed the freedom of other agents involved in education.

This position was derived from their conception of the true purpose of education. In 1989 a leader of a public education advocacy group expressed their core idea clearly in an interview:

The problem is, first of all, an ideological one. The development of young people's minds is very important. It's possible to shape people's minds in schools. Thus, for the Catholic Church schools are a way to create lots of little Catholics who will eventually become grown up Catholics. As for those of us who support public education, we stress critical thinking and reasoning power. In the eighteenth century Voltaire and other Enlightenment figures wanted to encourage independence, reasoning, and thought [through education]. Those are the traditional goals of our public school system, and I still believe in them.

Thus, public school supporters argued that private schools endangered their students' freedom of conscience and thought. They did this in two ways. Most obviously, religious schools taught the academic disciplines from a particular perspective and imposed religious views upon children. Somewhat less obviously, all private schools—even non-sectarian ones—restricted the social contacts of children, thus preventing the intellectual stimulation which results from exposure to people from different backgrounds. In Rawls's terms, the opponents of the subsidies believed that children's freedom conflicted with that of their parents and religious leaders. In such a case, they preferred to support the freedom of children.

The Debré Act and the decrees which implemented it were specifically designed to balance these freedoms against each other. The first article of the law began with a reaffirmation of public education and that the French Republic guarantees children and young people access to such an education. Next, the importance of educational freedom and the right of private schools to exist were asserted. Finally, the nature of

the financial aid to be granted to private schools was specified: they could enter into contractual agreements with the national government to offer non-sectarian instruction. If they chose to do so, the classes which were covered would be regulated. (*JOD*, 1960, p. 66). Then followed two key sentences which sought to resolve the conflict between the freedoms of the private school, parents, and children.

The school, while maintaining its distinctive character, must provide its teaching with complete respect for freedom of conscience. All children, without distinction of origin, opinion, or belief, must have access to it. (*JOD*, 1960, p. 66)

Because the regulation of subsidized schools included curriculum requirements and the evaluation of private school teachers by public school supervisors, the extent to which children's freedom of conscience was respected could be monitored.

The law was, of course, ambiguous. How does a religious school maintain its distinctive religious character while respecting its students' freedom of conscience? If a Catholic school is known to have a "distinctive" character, to what extent does the child of Jewish, Moslem, or agnostic parents have genuinely free access to it? The policy as drafted in 1959 did not resolve these issues. Instead, it established the general principle that the conflicting freedoms were to be balanced against each other. It left to schools, teachers, families, and children the challenging task of working out the details of this "system of liberty."

That the French have, by and large, worked out those conflicts is revealed by the widespread support which the policy enjoys in public opinion (Leclerc, 1985; Savary, 1985). Support was also revealed in the Savary Bill and the Chevènement Act, documents in which the French Left finally accepted the principle of educational freedom as defined in the Debré Act (Favoreu, 1985; Savary, 1985). Support was also revealed in the interviews conducted in the spring of 1989. For example, the leader of a private education lobbying group said:

Formerly, the private school was a school of the church; with financial aid from the state it became a school of the nation with a Christian educational project. Now, a school of the church is reserved for Catholic families. Its goal is—if I may permit myself to use a rather American phrase—to manufacture little Catholics. Today, our schools are open to everyone. . . . Openness to everyone is the important thing. Of course, it is a legal requirement as a result of accepting government aid. But this openness is completely consistent with the spirit of the Church since Vatican II. There is no conflict—quite the opposite. Therefore, we are open to all religions, all philosophies.

Leaders of public school groups, who bitterly opposed the policy at its inception and for many years afterward, have also come to accept it. Here are the comments of the leader of a public school teachers' union which was once known for its fierce opposition to the Debré Act:

Formerly, private school teachers were mostly monks and nuns—the differences between private and public school teachers were enormous. Today, the two groups of teachers are becoming more and more alike. Private education has become more secularized, and we have pretty good relationships with the teachers. On both sides there are just a few "fundamentalists"—people who still take the old positions...

Through the Debré Act and its implementation, the French successfully balanced the freedom of private groups to establish schools, the freedom of parents to choose private schools, and the freedom of conscience of private school students.

Implications for the American Policy Debate

A study of the French private school aid policy and its provision for the protection of several freedoms permits Americans to debate over school choice in a context which is broader than usual. In the first place, the debate in France raises some serious questions about the way that the choice issue has been defined in this country. Proponents of school choice fly the flag of freedom, claiming that they advocate an extension of freedom when they argue that families should be free to choose their children's schools. Opponents of school choice usually respond with a discussion of equity issues. They point out that choice programs may increase racial segregation, heighten the divisions between socioeconomic classes, and lead to the neglect of handicapped children. They may also respond by expressing concern about the loss of the common school ideal. These are, indeed, important issues.

The French experience suggests that school choice policies also raise a host of questions relating to freedom. Under a school choice policy, how can children's freedom of thought and conscience be guaranteed? At what point does a religious education become brainwashing, and what should be done if brainwashing occurs in a school which receives public funds? And at what point does a school's neglect of the academic curriculum begin to impair children's freedom of thought? What should be done about that situation in a subsidized private school—or, for that matter, in a public one? School choice proposals also raise many questions about the freedom of teachers. Since the early 1960s, the freedom of American teachers has greatly expanded; today teachers can exercise freedom of speech, freedom of association, and some forms of academic freedom on the job.

Moreover, school boards and administrators have largely lost the freedom to discipline teachers for their lifestyle choices (McCarthy & Cambron-McCabe, 1987). Teachers in private schools do not have such rights. What will happen if private schools in this country begin to receive public funds? Will they come under the civil rights laws which cover public school teachers? If radical, unregulated choice proposals like Chubb and Moe's (1990) are adopted, what will happen to the freedoms of public school teachers?

Moreover, the French experience suggests that many citizens could lose political freedoms if choice policies are adopted. For example, if parents choose a school in another district, where do they pay school taxes? Where do they vote for school board members? And for bond issues? All of these questions are freedom issues. Those who have some reservations about current choice proposals should raise them, clearly identifying them as freedom issues. And ideally, they should be raised now, not after a choice policy has been adopted. The French experience reveals the difficulty in rectifying weaknesses in a choice policy which has been implemented.

The French experience also reveals how simplistic many American school choice proposals are. Most of the proposals on the policy agenda restrict their understanding of freedom to parents' freedom to choose their child's school. This freedom does appear in the French data; but it is a minor theme, overshadowed by the great freedoms of thought, conscience, expression, and political participation. Ironically, this study also suggests that by ignoring these other freedoms, American advocates of school choice may actually be weakening their ability to garner widespread public support. In France, the development of a complex and sophisticated conception of educational freedom was an important strategy for obtaining the passage of the private school aid policy and for ultimately gaining massive support for it. In the United States, on the other hand, many choice supporters understand parents as "consumers" and schools as "products" between which parents should be able to choose. The flaws in this argument that is based on an economic analogy are apparent and antagonize many who might sympathize with a broader, deeper understanding of educational freedom. The United States stands virtually alone among Western industrial democracies in its refusal to subsidize private schools (Bruce, 1983). The French experience suggests that one reason may be the failure of Americans thus far to define the school choice issue in terms acceptable to people who have been influenced by the Enlightenment and the common school ideal of the 19th century. They might find Rawls's concept of a balanced system of freedoms acceptable. That concept, of course, implies government regulation to preserve the balance among freedoms.

Unfortunately, many of Americans who advocate school choice also advocate another concept: weak government. For example, in an essay in support of school choice, Finn (1990) has this to say:

We are committed to minimal coercion by the state. Only where public safety or national security demands are we generally sanguine about government telling people what they can and cannot do, making them go places they do not want to go, and barring them from places where they *do* want to go. (p. 4)

Since school choice would probably not involve either "public safety" or "national security," Finn and his political allies likely would not favor a carefully structured policy which balances freedoms against each other. Rather they would support a virtually unregulated voucher or "scholarship" plan like that proposed by Chubb and Moe (1990).

The French experience suggests what such policies really mean. Under them private groups would be free to establish schools, their principals would be free to operate them as they pleased, and parents would be free to choose *between* them. However, there might be little freedom *within* such establishments. Dissatisfied students and teachers would have little recourse; they would be urged to "choose" another establishment which might prove more to their liking. Unfortunately, changing schools is not always convenient or easy. Many people would probably "choose" to remain silent and conform in order to avoid being forced out into the "market place" to search for a more congenial school or job. This is not freedom. In their zeal to minimize coercion by the state, the proponents of choice proposals ignore the fact that other institutions, such as private organizations, churches, and families, can also be coercive.

In conclusion, the French experience with 30 years of school choice suggests that choice policies which both enhance and protect the freedoms of most of the agents involved in schools can be developed. Also, the construction of such policies depends upon a complex understanding of what freedom means in a democratic society. Unfortunately, most of those advocating school choice in the United States lack such an understanding. At this time, probably the best thing that Americans who would like to see more educational freedom in the United States can do is to reflect upon Rawls's (1971) words:

The basic liberties must be assessed as a whole, as one system. . . . The worth of one liberty normally depends upon the specification of the other liberties. . . . While it is by and large true that a greater liberty is preferable, this holds primarily for the system of liberty as a whole, and not for each particular liberty. Clearly when the liberties are left unrestricted they collide with one another. (p. 203)

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CHAPTER 3

Pedagogical, Sociological, and Developmental Concerns of Future Administrators: Implications for Instructional Design from Student Journals

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Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine the potential of student journals as evidence of: (a) the developmental levels of concern (survival, task, and impact) of students of educational administration as they proceed through their course work in educational administration; (b) the process of socialization from being a teacher to becoming an administrator; and (c) the position of the content of student reflections (as reported in journals) on the vertical (active to passive) and horizontal (concrete to abstract) axes of Kolb's Experiential Learning Model.

Significance of the Study

This study focused on the importance of the process of writing (a) as a learning tool for students in educational administration programs and (b) as a research technique for assessing the pedagogical, sociological, and developmental impact of courses, programs, and/or instructional activities on students. If student writing is representative of the students' view of the world as suggested by Emig (1981), *pedagogically*, the importance of journaling represents not only the process of learning for a particular student but also a product upon which both students and professors can reflect and construct future learning experiences (Roderick, 1986; Schon, 1987). Content analyses of students' journals over the span of their preparation programs and beyond could provide invaluable insights and data for program evaluation and redesign. Professors of educational administration can use these data to determine if the content and processes of programs are able to assist *sociologically* these "would-be" administra-

tors in gaining entrance to and becoming assimilated into their specific "referent groups" (principals, superintendents, school business officials, assistant superintendents of instruction, or others). The product of journaling also provided a window through which to view success in impacting students *developmentally*. Journals may provide insight in how secure students feel in their: (a) role as an administrator (survival), (b) level of interpersonal competence (task), and (c) ability to develop the organizational structures that would support organizational learning teams (impact). As professors are able to deal with their own levels of concern for survival and task, they will be better able to realize the impact that they are capable of delivering.

Research Questions

This study was designed to find the answers to the following questions:

1. How and to what extent did students give expression to their level of concern for survival, task, or impact?
2. How and to what extent did gender or course impact student level of concern?
3. What types of specific job or course-related socialization events did students experience during the journaling process?
4. How and to what extent did gender or course impact socialization events experienced by students during the journaling process?
5. How and to what extent did students give expression to the instructional activities experienced during the journaling process?

Adult Learning and Educational Administration

Student criticism of the impractical nature of preparation program content is old news. Many administrator preparation programs can best be described as a collection of prescribed courses taken by students in a sequence that is determined primarily by one of convenience (Tuesday or Thursday nights) rather than by pedagogical, sociological, or developmental design. Given this reality, one could also argue that learning occurs primarily through only two of the four language processes—listening and reading (relatively passive processes). The remaining processes, talking and writing (comparatively active), are present in preparation programs of today but to a lesser degree.

Pedagogical Concerns

Kolb's (1984) experiential learning model, derived from the writings of Dewey, Lewin, and Piaget, postulated that learning occurs in a cycle of four distinct processes: (a) concrete experiences, (b) reflective observation, (c)

abstract conceptualization, and (d) active experimentation. The vertical axis of the learning cycle represented the concrete to abstract dimension. The horizontal axis represented the reflective to active dimension. For example, students learning in the Kolb model would directly experience some educational event (concrete experience) and then reflect on that experience from a variety of perspectives. The reflection prompts learners to develop or draw conclusions (abstract conceptualization) that they compare to the constructs, concepts, or theories of others. This process guides decisions or actions that serve to create a new educational experience (concrete experience) or the beginning of a new cycle.

Instructional activities

Svinicki and Dixon (1987) added a set of instructional activities to Kolb's (1984) experiential learning cycle. Each set of activities is listed below the components of Kolb's cycle in Figure 1. From the Kolb Experiential Learning Cycle (Kolb, 1984) and the instructional activities as outlined by Svinicki and Dixon (1987), one can see that much of what has occurred and is, for the most part, still occurring is a part of the abstract conceptualization process.

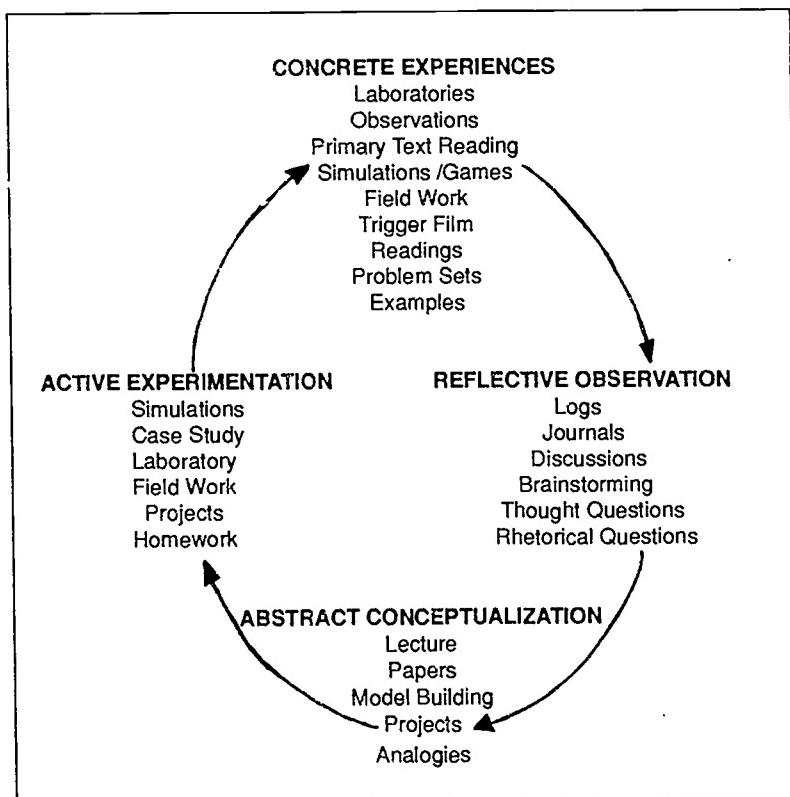
Writing to Learn. Svinicki and Dixon (1987) list logs and journals as instructional activities under the process of reflective observation. The importance of writing for learning is stressed by other authors as well (Young & Fulwiler, 1990; Willis, 1989; Fulwiler, 1987; and Fulwiler, 1988). Holly (1988) makes a distinction between logs, diaries, and journals. A *log* is a systematic record of factual performance without interpretation. A *diary* is a record of personal experience over time in which the author spontaneously records opinions, feelings, and thoughts. The intent is to have a talk with self. A *journal* includes the content of logs and diaries but goes beyond both of them. Holly explains:

A journal is a comprehensive and systematic attempt at writing to clarify ideas and experiences; it is a document written to clarify ideas and experiences; it is a document written with the intent to return to it, and to learn through interpretation of the writing. The journal, like the log and diary, is kept over time though it is not necessarily a record of events as they happen. (p. 9)

Types of Journals. A journal becomes a working document that students use as a tool to explore their learning experiences. Journal writing (Holly, 1988) can be of several types: (a) journalistic, (b) analytic, (c) evaluative, (d) ethnographic, (e) therapeutic-reflective and therapeutic-introspective,

(f) creative-poetic, and/or (g) autobiographical professional writing. Emig (1981) argues that writing is not just a special or important tool but a unique tool. "Because writing is often our representation of the world made visible, embodying both process and product, writing is more readily a frame and source of learning than talking" (p. 71).

Figure 1
Instructional activities that may support different aspects of the learning cycle.



Sociological Concerns

Research on the socialization of administrators is scant. Brim and Wheeler's (1966) *Socialization after Childhood: Two essays* and Becker's (1961) *The Boys in White* are the classic pieces dealing with socialization beyond childhood. Both explore the concept of "referent" group and one's

struggle with being shut out of one group while not actually being accepted into the new "referent group." As students move through administrator preparation programs, they live in an educational context in which more than their cognitive outlook is changing. Indeed, they experience a parallel sociological transformation. Many students enter programs as teachers. Their administrative preparation program could play a major part in the socialization process of becoming administrators.

Developmental Concerns

In an early study on the concerns of teachers, Fuller's (1969) research and the studies of others found that teachers had common concerns. Beginning teachers are concerned with self-survival while mature teachers focused their concern on pupil gain or self-evaluation. These studies were refined by others (Adams & Martray, 1981; Demarte & Mahood, 1981; Hall & Loucks, 1987) into three stages of concerns: (a) self-concerns, (b) task concerns, and (c) impact concerns. Students of educational administration programs may have these same concerns.

Concerns for Survival. Educational administration students' concern for survival might focus on their ability to evolve into that which is perceived to be an administrator. They might ask themselves: Do I have what it takes to be an administrator? Am I the administrative type? Do I have enough self-confidence? Why do I want to be an administrator? Do I have enough physical stamina? Will I like to have to deal with other people? Do I want to give up teaching for the worklife of a principal? The key idea in recognizing a survival concern is that it is focused inwardly.

Concerns for Task. Educational administration students' concern for tasks focused on various processes of administration. Future administrators might ask themselves: How can I improve the budget process to include the input of others? How can I more effectively deal with angry parents? What do I need to improve my interpersonal skills to communicate with my staff? How can I more effectively evaluate staff? What can I do to structure my work time to increase my interactions with more of my staff members? How can I report this information to the board in a manner that will facilitate an understanding of the problem? The key idea in recognizing a concern for task is that the concern is focused on skills such as completing interactions or communicating with others in the educational environment.

Concerns for Impact. Educational administration students' concern for impact would focus beyond concerns of self and self-to-other relationships. Instead, concerns of impact are directed toward the force that the students' skills and personality had on students, staff, the school organization, the

community, and the environment. An example might be a concern for developing the structures and processes that: (a) would assure students of any race, gender, age, ability or disability level to achieve their academic, affective, or psycho-motor potential; (b) would permit educational decision making to be based on data from a management information system; (c) would develop the skills of others in their task concerns and interpersonal relationships; and (d) would support group processes and team learning activities necessary for the evolution of the organization to achieve its mission. The key idea in recognizing an impact concern is that the concern is for a collectivity of others in the educational organization beyond oneself or individual interpersonal relationships.

Methods and Procedures

Student journals were collected from three sections of an administrative theory course ($n = 52$) and three sections of a supervisory behavior course ($n = 52$) for a total 104 individual journals. Female journal writers numbered 67 while male journal writers numbered 37.

Contextual Overview

On the first day of each course, the students were told they were required to keep a journal following each class period. The journal was to focus on the key ideas discussed in the readings as well as any content, processes, or activities that occurred in class sessions or between class sessions that the students believed to be relevant to the key ideas listed in that journal entry. Students were told that the journal was for their purposes and could focus on anything within the initial parameters. They were instructed not to try and impress the professor that they had read all the material but rather to select a few key "ah-hahs" and react to those ideas in relationship to their educational organizations.

The journal was declared a safe place for students to discuss their feelings, concerns, hopes, and visions for their administrative careers. They were free to comment on the interpersonal interactions that occurred in the class sessions as well as those in their educational organizations. They were also encouraged to comment about the usefulness of the structure, processes, and activities of the course as well as the instructional strategies of the professor. The journal was the medium for a personal dialogue between the student and the professor. The journal was free from evaluation or criticism and no comments were offered in reference to spelling, punctuation, grammar, or style. No length requirements were given.

Coding of Journals

Student journals were coded by gender, course, and semester. Initially, the journals were skimmed by the researcher to determine the unit of analysis to be coded within each journal and the potential categories. A preliminary scanning of specific journals revealed that a sentence would be the proper unit of analysis. An analysis by sentence and category type would yield both a frequency by category type and a percentage of total sentences per each journal.

Analysis of Data

Data were analyzed by gender and course for the following pre-specified categories: (a) survival, (b) task, (c) impact, (d) type of socialization experiences (teacher group—positive, teacher group—negative, referent group—positive, referent group—negative), (e) references to instructional activities coded by position of concreteness-abstraction or passive-active on the axes of the Kolb Experiential Learning Cycle, and (f) other potential categories. The processes of selecting categories and coding of data suggested by Berelson (1952) and Kirpendorff (1980) were followed to insure both reliability and validity.

Summary of Preliminary Findings

Survival, Task, and Impact Concerns

1. How did students express their level of concern for survival, task, or impact?

Students of educational administration do have and express concerns of survival, task, and impact in reference to their educational career. While individual journals have higher levels of each type of concern (survival, task, and impact) than do other journals, students do not just move out of survival concerns into task, and then on into impact. Students exhibit evidence of all three concerns depending on course topic, assignment, and situational context.

2. How did gender or course impact student level of concern? The researcher was not able to make any conclusions regarding the impact of gender on these concerns. However, after initial scanning, the supervisory behavior course which focuses on the tasks of supervision and coaching stimulated many statements which focused on concerns of task.

Socialization Activities

3. What were the specific job or course related socialization events that students experienced during the journaling process? The data were categorized by four types of socialization categories: (a) teacher group—

positive, (b) teacher group—negative, (c) referent group—positive, and (d) referent group—negative. Students expressed both positive and negative socialization events for both the teacher and administrator groups. Students reported that people within their own social group in schools hoped that students would remember what it was like to be a teacher and not turn into a bureaucratic administrator. Others commented they were being mentored by someone within their district and were encouraged to take administrative courses. There were many comments that outlined the skills and strengths of administrators in the field as well as those that pointed out administrative weaknesses. Many students indicated that they were able to learn from these observations and hoped that they would avoid the same pitfalls when they obtained their administrative position. Initial analysis did not provide evidence of any statement of support from the teacher group.

4. *How did gender or course impact socialization events?* Analysis did not determine if either gender or course impacted socialization events.

References to Instructional Activities Coded by Position on the Concrete/Abstract Active/Passive Axes

5. *How did students give expression to activities viewed as being useful in their development (survival, task, or impact) or socialization process (becoming an administrator)?* Many students commented that the journal process was valuable in helping them make sense of the content and expressed a gratefulness for the feedback from the professor. The coding processes for determining the placement of the instructional activities on the active-passive concrete-abstract axes are still being constructed.

Interpretation of Findings

Preliminary findings suggest that concerns for survival, task, and impact of educational administration students (future administrators) parallel those of teachers as reported by other researchers (Fuller, 1969; Adams & Martray, 1981; Demarte & Mahood, 1981; Hall & Loucks, 1987). The selection of instructional activities within courses and the content of courses impact the type of verbal concerns expressed by students. For instance, the supervisory behavior class stressed interpersonal verbal skills. Initial analysis identified a large number of concerns for task as students moved through related chapters in the text.

Educational administration students experience a sociological transformation as they proceed through their preparation programs. They are growing out of their present referent group, learning new vocabularies and

cognitive maps, and have difficulty accessing people in a new referent group. This sociological event may add to the students' concern for survival.

Instructional strategies do make a difference in courses. Many students prefer to be active, rather than passive, and enjoy moving along the learning continuum from concrete to abstract. At first, students appeared to be uncomfortable with strong displays of knowledge, but after several rounds of feedback from the instructor they expressed their pleasure with their new knowledge by integrating and synthesizing names, theories, actual educational events, and their plans for future positions.

Future Research

Research should be conducted to identify instructional activities that facilitate students in their development of interpersonal skills that impact organizational development. For instance, students could engage in field research by having practitioners keep reflective journals on their weekly activities. The process would illuminate the developmental levels of practitioners and other educational players in a student's work sphere. Professors focusing coursework on organizational change might collect journals from students and compare concerns of impact to this study's results for a theory course. Journals could be collected from several students as they proceed through their preparation program and during the first several years of their first administrative position to document further the socialization and developmental process.

Recommendations

1. As preparation programs are reorganized, special care should be taken to address the experiential cycle of learning and its range of instructional strategies. Efforts currently directed toward lecture and listening should be shifted to a greater emphasis on discussion and the processes of dialogue paired with thoughtful reflection and writing.
2. Survey courses in educational administration should be delivered at the undergraduate teacher preparation level. If administrators need these theories and research to run educational organizations, this knowledge should not be withheld from the very people who populate educational organizations. As students move through their first administrative courses, many comment that they did not realize the difficulties faced by administrators.
3. Students need to work on teams throughout their preparation programs. Working on teams would facilitate the development of the interpersonal

skills that are necessary to forge learning teams within educational organizations. Learning teams are the context where the psychological and sociological aspects of organizations take life. Learning teams are the gifts of collegiality and collaborative interpersonal relationships. If administrators are expected to be facilitators of learning teams in their organizations, professors must accept the challenge to help students develop these same skills.

4. The course work of educational administration should be conducted in partnership with school districts. Such partnership would facilitate the four-step process of the Kolb Experiential Learning Model. Learning teams can enter into partnerships with school districts through course activities. This union would provide services to the district such as conducting community and staff surveys, developing information management systems for tracking student data, and coaching teachers through cycles of supervision.

5. Journals are powerful tools for both student learning and research techniques. They have the potential to assist in assessing the impact of programs, courses, and instructional strategies on the sociological and developmental concerns of future administrators.

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